

FELLOWSHIP

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In Two Parts



Vol. XI—No. 4
Part One

IS OUR ONLY CHOICE

Dumbarton Oaks or Chaos?

A 16-page special section by

A. J. MUSTE



The Call of Easter

Walter Russell Bowie

Christianity and Conscription

Howard H. Brinton

Conscription and the Mind

Arthur Stanley Harris

Challenge to CPS Men

Antone G. Singsen

Four Years in Occupied Norway

Myrtle Wright

We Say No to Jim Crow

George M. Houser

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John Haynes Holmes

THE NATIONAL BOARD of the Catholic War Veterans, Inc., has petitioned President Roosevelt, Winston Churchill, Joseph Stalin, and other heads of the United Nations, "to join in creating a long era of peace." They are especially anxious that these men "strive for a peace without pacifism."

I

That's a peculiar phrase—"peace without pacifism"! It seems to awaken faint echoes within my mind—something about omelettes without eggs, or bricks without straw. Can there be any such thing as "peace without pacifism"?

Let us look at the matter etymologically. The word "pacifism" is derived from two Latin words, *pax* and *facio*—*pax*, a noun, meaning "peace," and *facio*, a verb, meaning "to make." Literally interpreted, "pacifism" means "making peace." In the famous Vulgate or Latin translation of the New Testament, the great beatitude, "Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called the sons of God," appears as follows:

Beati *pacifici*, quoniam ipsi filii Dei vocabuntur.

Now, the Vulgate is the Catholic Bible. In their own sacred text, the Catholic War Veterans are instructed that the peacemakers, blessed as the sons of God, are *pacifici*—i.e., pacifists. In petitioning, therefore, for "a peace without pacifism," these Catholics are repudiating their own Holy Scriptures. What would the Pope, himself preeminently a peacemaker, or pacifist, say to that?

II

But this is perhaps a bit technical, though in its ultimate significance it is profound. The Catholic War Veterans may well reply that they are dealing not with etymology but with the present-day usage of familiar words. In pleading for peace, these sincere men don't want to be confused with those who will not take up arms, as they have done, on behalf of peace. They believe that peace must be protected by force, as it has been threatened by force—and must in the end be reestablished and maintained by the same force. So the Veterans are scornful, even fearful, of those who will not resort to force. These pacifists may indulge in a lot of pious talk about peace, but what are they willing to do? Nothing that is practical! They hide away when the storm comes.

Here is raised the old issue of force as a basis of peaceful relations between men. It would seem as though this question were settled for all time by Jesus in his Sermon on the Mount. "Resist not evil," "turn the other cheek," "love your enemies," "forgive seventy times seven"—these are the eternal maxims of the Christ, which were the mind of the early Church, and to this day (to the believer) are of course the Word of God. But I refrain from pressing again the biblical point, though why it should be ignored, by Catholic War Veterans, for example, I cannot understand.

But if not to the Bible, then let us turn to history! For centuries men have been seeking to end war. They have tried, through all these countless generations of social life, to find the way to peace. But never yet have they reached their goal. War has succeeded war in an unending series of scenes of slaughter which constitute the drama of history. If a period of peace has come, it has straightway been used for recuperation from the last war and preparation for the next war, and thus has been nothing more than a truce between wars. And where has been the trouble, if not in men's persistent illusion that peace may be secured by resort to force and violence? Through some defect of intellect, some queer quirk of imagination, men have been betrayed into the strange conviction that the means to peace and war are identical. But can we never be made to see that fighting for peace is the same as fighting for conquest—is merely war under another guise? Are we never to understand that an international police, equipped with artillery and bombing-planes, is simply an army under international instead of national control; and that the use of this "police" against a so-called "aggressor nation" is nothing less than making war upon this nation? A war by any other name is as destructive and horrible. The use of force and violence, even for peace, can only produce war, and still more war, to the very end of time.

It is with this whole system of arms and fighting that pacifism would break absolutely. It would lay down the eternal principle of means and ends—that the end can never justify the means, since the means invariably determine the end. If you are going to use force, armaments, fighting, and killing as a means to peace, you are never going to get peace, but only war

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again. Peace as an end can only come through means appropriate to itself, and such means are disarmament, non-violence, non-resistance, reconciliation, compassion, good will, mutual aid, and love. Spiritual, not material, weapons! This is the reason why pacifism is necessary to peace.

III

The Catholic War Veterans, Inc., need badly some clear vision. They need quite as badly some spiritual understanding. Right here upon the altars of their faith, before which they bow in prayer and adoration, lies the secret of all peace. The mass, the elevation of the host, the body of the Christ broken and his blood spilled as a willing sacrifice for many—this is the victory. When will men learn, when will Christians see, that peace will come only when the sword is surrendered for the cross?

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The Call of Easter

By WALTER RUSSELL BOWIE*

If ye then be risen with Christ, seek those things which are above, where Christ sitteth on the right hand of God.—Colossians 3:1

HERE IS THE CALL OF EASTER; and it begins, as you have heard, with "If." But note to what its "If" refers. It does not say, "If Christ is risen." It says, "If *you* are risen." It does not ask whether there is such a thing as life that is stronger than death. It asks whether you have already found it. The Easter gospel is not an argument, but an affirmation. It builds upon great facts of yesterday, and it follows then with a question for us today. It asks what we are going to do as a consequence of those facts which the world has long ago experienced. "The living Spirit of Christ," it says, "has been moving through the world these nineteen hundred years. What does that Spirit mean to you? You have a death to rise from; you have a larger life to win. *If* you are risen, *when* you are risen, with Christ, what will it mean for you?"

Something intimate and personal is what it ought to mean. The resurrection is not an echo of an ancient fact. It is an experience to be fulfilled in us. It is a spiritual resurrection which may begin today.

We need a resurrection from our sins. But that is not the whole need. It is out of the grave of all of our pathetic limitations that we would rise. For there are many people whose sadness is not in what they have done that is wrong, but in what they have been unable to do that is right. We want to serve God, but we do it so ineffectively. We want to help our fellow men, but we so imperfectly know how. Our feet plod and our hands fumble.

But the great souls of our race have always been those who have been able to lift their eyes above the level of the actual to those assurances of God which they kept believing some day would come true. Jesus did that.

Paul did that. Valiant and undiscouraged servants of mankind in every century of Christendom have done that. Renew, then, today all your best beliefs. The invincible power of Christ moving as a spiritual fact across the centuries is your evidence that the great hopes and the great faiths are not defeated. They may be halted and postponed; but they never die. Trust then today in the power of the immortal life. Believe that the great souls in whom here you have seen the meaning of the Spirit are your witnesses to the reality of a larger world of God into which they go along the roads of greater service. Trust also in the better possibilities of this present world. Believe in them at the very point at which you may be tempted to let go in cynical surrender. Believe in the motives of men lifted up more and more above the crowd in large efforts of intelligent service for the common good. Believe in politics set free from sordidness and greed, and made into the thing of honor which it ought to be. Believe in an international order from which the ancient curse of war may be taken away.

It is easy to drift into disillusionment. It is easy to sit down with the multitude in the dust. But the world is redeemed by the gallant spirits who seek the things which are above, the faith which is above the present fact, the high-hearted hope which outruns the present evidence. To move on that great level of confidence and courage, our souls must know the resurrection of the power of God in Christ. And what is Easter save the promise of this very power? In Jesus Christ humanity rose once for all above every contrary fact of this world which without God might make us fear. Because of Jesus, we know that there is no spiritual loyalty too great to trust in and to dare. Be glad, then, that you need not move on the crowd's level of hesitation and of doubt. Yours can be the heritage of those who are risen with Christ, and who therefore can reshape life in the power of the understanding which sees it from above.

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Christianity and Conscription

By HOWARD H. BRINTON*

CHRISTIANITY THROUGHOUT ITS HISTORY has had but one serious rival for the supreme loyalty of its adherents—the state. At the very beginning of Christianity, absolute power, vested in Caesar, was looked on by Christians as anti-Christ, the Beast of John's Revelation—the embodiment of evil, as Christ was incarnate good. The one cause of early Christian martyrdom was refusal to set Caesar above Christ.

A valid measure of the strength of the Church in every age has been its willingness and ability to pass judgment on the state. If the Church simply echoes the voice of the state, it ceases to perform its mission to proclaim an authority higher than the powers of earth. When Christianity surrenders to nationalism it degrades itself more truly than if it were to surrender to Buddhism or Mohammedanism or Hinduism, for nationalism is narrower, more ego-centric, less ethical than any great religion.

Our religion reaches its climax as a faith beyond nationalism when it declares the means by which we should demonstrate our status as God's children. "Love ye your enemies . . . and ye shall be children of the Highest: for he is kind unto the unthankful and to the evil" (Luke 6:35). It is by this standard that the Church must judge the nations if it remains faithful to its Founder. The Church cannot proclaim a standard lower than that of the home in which the erring child is as well loved as the righteous child.

Our own state was, to a large degree, founded by religionists—Puritan, Catholic, Quaker, and German Pietist. These crossed the sea because, though willing to grant to Caesar what was Caesar's, they could not give the state their conscience which was God's. Because their influence has not wholly waned we are still far from the extreme centralization of authority over body, mind, and spirit which prevails in the countries against which we are waging war. But many are saying, and evidence to support them is multiplying, that forces pulling us in the direction of totalitarianism are gaining power.

By far the strongest evidence that dehumanizing forces are growing stronger in America is the growth of a militaristic, authoritarian type of mind which threatens to bring about, as its first important expression, universal conscription for times of peace. There are many issues involved in this program, the most revolutionary which has as yet come before the American people. One of these issues is of vital concern to Christianity. The drill-master will teach to every young man at his most impressionable age, absolute, unquestioning obedience to human command, even though such command leads to actions wholly contrary to the teachings of home, of school, of church. If the Christian churches do not take against peacetime conscription a stand strong enough to defeat it, Christianity

will be even more reduced than now to spiritual vassalage to nationalism.

The real objective of the present proposal for conscription is gradually becoming apparent. Few persons are so hoodwinked as to hold sincerely that military training will promote democracy, the two being polar opposites. Professional educators are almost unanimous in the opinion that such training will have slight educational value, intellectually or physically, in comparison with other methods. As for education in morals, the reputation of the barracks is not high. Peacetime conscription educates men in methods of killing and destruction without enabling them to see, what our soldiers are seeing now, the devastating outcome of these methods.

There is one basic motive for peacetime conscription. That motive is fear. This is frankly admitted. The only other valid motive, imperialistic expansion, is not even discussed. We are told that we are afraid some enemy will suddenly attack us. For this reason we must be able to mobilize quickly. Yet fear is the greatest single cause of war, probably the only ultimate cause. Once a great wave of fear sweeps over a land, men do not wait for attack. They mobilize instantly, if speedy mobilization is at all possible, and thus precipitate war.

Had Germany on the one hand and Russia and France on the other not suddenly mobilized in 1914, each side inspiring fear in the other, the First World War would probably not have occurred. The present struggle is a continuation of that conflict. It is generally admitted that a community of persons is not likely to be peaceful when, in fear of one another, men go about heavily armed. Any suspicious act will start a fight. The same is true of a community of nations. The road to peace does not lie through fear but away from fear.

The choice between the ultimate loyalty which Christianity teaches and the loyalty inculcated by military conscription is a choice between courage and fear. The state, through conscription, offers to protect our lives and property. Fear is inspired in ourselves in that we dread attack, in others in that they fear our aggression. Christianity, offering no such protection, seeks to remove men's fear. Christianity demands supreme allegiance to those things of the spirit which no enemy can attack with earthly weapons. This demand includes the risk of losing property and life, but so also does the demand which is made by conscription, as recent history amply testifies. Yet even under Christianity, the things of earth are not wholly unprotected. The inward peace and security which our religion brings is, in the long run, the surest way to both peace and security without. Fear and the threat of violence produce inner strife. Inner strife flares into outer conflict. But courage, born of inner peace and serenity, produces its like in the community and world at large.

Our nation must soon arrive at its decision. Shall we go to the drill-master to find the way to peace or to Him who said "My peace I give unto you, not as the world giveth"?

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Conscription and the Mind

By ARTHUR STANLEY HARRIS*

IN THE RECREATION HALL of the Civilian Public Service Camp in which I am interned we have on the wall in huge letters, "Thee doesn't have to be crazy to be here, but it helps." Our guests are often puzzled by it, not knowing immediately whether it is a joke or a statement of fact. Displayed humorously, of course, the epigram none-the-less has a good deal of truth in it, as in most jest.

For example, it has always seemed to me paradoxical that CPS men should want to go into mental hospital units "in order to learn more about abnormal people," because neurotic individuals of every classification, some in the early stages of development, some deeply entrenched, are in the camps. CPS, like the armed forces, not only *has* its neurotics; it *manufactures* them.

Although psychiatric examinations now form a part of the induction station routine, conscientious objectors drafted before the spring of 1943 received only a superficial physical examination by the camp physician upon arrival. Consequently many men who might otherwise have been rejected for service, had they undergone an adequate examination, were ordered to report to CPS. And even since objectors began having their final-type physicals in regular induction stations, the examiners seem to be hasty in their interrogation of COs. For a couple of months I talked with all the new assignees who were willing about their psychiatric examinations; most reported that their examinations were gallingly shallow and perfunctory. Several men merely had been asked one or two questions; a few had their reflexes tested, their eyes examined for color blindness, and that was all. One man tells me that he was asked a single question, "Who is the President of the United States?"

So let us say to begin with that there are men in CPS who have no business being here in the first place. As General Hershey has said regarding COs in testimony before Senate Committees:

They are a most peculiar kind of people. . . .¹ We have some rather borderline cases, from a mental standpoint, or from a behavior standpoint, many are pretty close to it and have a certain amount of erraticness that tends to be abnormal, but they are not institutional cases. . . .²

Unfortunately the internment camp is a fertile breeding ground for mental illnesses. Although we read much about "morale" in the armed forces, "Section Eight discharges," we have as serious a problem in our own CPS labor camps. Except for the element of danger (which only a small percentage of the armed forces actually face) we carry much the same burden that the serviceman does—and often a lot more besides. Our hardships may seem trivial and unimportant; but since they are largely vexations of the mind, they may appear to us more immense and prodigious

than they really are, for "the little things" make or break morale. Let me, then, state some of these troubles as frankly and dispassionately as I can.

Like the soldier, we are away from home. We try desperately to bridge the gap. Furloughs and long-distance telephone calls are precious and infrequent. Letters and newspapers are the most common ties. Mail is read and re-read and preserved. And the home-town newspapers: *The Youngstown Vindicator*, *The Greensboro Daily News*, *The Atlantic City Press*, *The Iowa City Press-Citizen* arrive days late, often in a bunch. They are read insatiably. But these little threads connecting our existence with a former life often intensify the feelings of nostalgia and loneliness; these threads are no opiates.

The dullness of the work pricks at the equanimity of the most tolerant. Few men, except newcomers and the old-timers who are secure in sedentary camp jobs, talk any longer of "creative pioneering" or "testimony by work" or "serving without weapons," or even "work of national importance." Much of our project is boondoggling, purely and simply made work, unimportant and often useless, a fact which a Federal Court, in trying the case of a CPS walk-out, has recognized.³ In the early days of CPS, men in the Massachusetts camps laboriously dug water-holes by hand, work which could have been accomplished in a fraction of the time by steam-shovel. Constantly we are aware that our efforts are fruitless.

But if the work itself is often unnecessary, many men are not adaptable to physical labor. City-bred people make a grave error in assuming that their health will improve by working out-of-doors. Although present war draft statistics show that the average urban registrant is healthier than the average rural one, this does not necessarily mean that the city boy can do the country boy's work. Inducted into CPS are many pale, slight, sensitive young men who come directly from the cloistered ivory towers of *academia*. Little wonder that some men complain of backaches after working in a rock quarry. Less wonder, too, that these pathological injuries develop into mental illnesses when no relief is obtainable, for these are labor camps and there is rarely a place for the sickly aesthete. Unlike the armed forces, we have created no niche for the limited-service man. He is generally barred from special-service units in hospitals because the superintendents want to take no chance with a lame-duck. And as for guinea-pig experiments, they require robust, not weak men. Consequently the physically weaker assignees are pushed around from one unsuitable job to another, finding no relief. It is not surprising that some men are occasionally glum and bad-tempered, thinking about the useful jobs left in Louisville, Birmingham, Hartford, or Indianapolis.

Slavery? We think of American Negroes prior to the Emancipation Proclamation, or of Hitler's enslavement of manpower in occupied countries. We need look neither so far back nor so far away. The plain, undeniable, and

* A conscientious objector and FOR member, of Winchester, Mass., who has spent nearly two years in two CPS camps and was recently granted a medical discharge.

¹ Testimony before subcommittee of House Committee on Appropriations regarding the independent officers appropriation bill for 1943, December 11, 1941.

² Testimony before Senate Military Affairs Committee on S. 315 and S. 675, February 17, 1943.

³ *United States v. Donn Yarrow*, U. S. District Court, Knoxville, Tennessee, December 6, 1944.

embarrassingly simple truth is that Civilian Public Service is a form of slavery. We were forced to come here—I don't know of anyone who volunteered—and we are forced to work fifty-one hours a week for nothing. Besides the principle of peonage, there is a practical consideration. Many men have barely enough money to go home on an occasional furlough. Striking examples of poverty are seen in CPS—men who can not muster enough money to buy a pack of cigarettes, much less a new shirt or suit.

And add to all this a haunting and oppressing isolation. We have no USO troupes converging on us, no busloads of dancing partners. The one-sidedness of the life is so apparent that it is not surprising that, with the agglomeration of so many men living closely, certain latent eroticisms and dormant abnormalities are awakened and present a formidable problem.

In our moments of introspection and self-pity (and these moments are numerous) we often feel a keen sense of persecution. Public relations are sometimes severe. The feeling an assignee has in being hunted like an animal on a lonely highway at night, or in being accosted by a half-dozen burly men and called unprintable names, is an indescribable feeling, which I am sure most of our twelve million darker brothers in America feel many times as doors are closed to them and profanities are hurled at them. And in the same way, many of us feel quite keenly the harshness of Selective Service's policy toward us, a policy which seems to be increasing in intensity. Many of us are irritated by the religious agencies being placed in the position of jailers, having to acquiesce to Selective Service in carrying out its measures, finding themselves partners in a program of conscription and involuntary servitude—both diametrically opposed to religious tenets of the historic peace churches. We compare the admonition, "If you don't like it in a church-administered camp, why not go to a government camp?" with the cry of some Southern whites, to the Negroes: "If you don't like conditions here, go some place else."

So these factors, which I have tried to present without exaggeration, often cause unrest in the ordinary man and a neurosis in the sensitive individual. Most camps are

engaged in a land-office business with near-by mental hospital staffs—not to arrange for special service units in the hospitals—but to reclaim what is salvageable in campers who are degenerating daily. Manic-depressives are not confined to asylum wards—men who are at times so depressed that the humble way Virginia Woolf took her life by walking into the sea, and the courageous way in which D. H. Lawrence took his, seem close and comprehensible. While CPS deaths are negligible, hundreds of men are having their lives taken slowly away, piece by piece and relentlessly, perhaps realizing, along with Mary Carolyn Davies that it is often more difficult to let go of life inch by inch "than to give it in a moment, gloriously."

Our fellow-campers who have not succumbed to the tedium and oppressing emptiness of CPS, and who are still determined to make something positive out of what is unmistakably a negative existence, have noticed some of us drifting apart. They talk of our lack of strength and moral fortitude and implore us to "rise above it all," assuming that our being affected adversely by the conditions we face is a weakness. I am not so sure; perhaps it is a virtue. One is always impressed that most men who leave on neuro-psychiatric discharges are deeply sensitive men. I have a thesis, as yet unproved, though all evidence points to its validity, that the more sensitivity a person possesses, the easier he is overwhelmed by this life. Would Wagner or Picasso or Whitman adjust well to this life of confinement?

In moments of calm deliberation we can easily say that we suffer for a principle which is greater than any of us. And we take comfort in the words of John:

"If the world hates you, remember that it hated me first. . . . If they have persecuted me they will persecute you, too . . . I have told you this to keep you from faltering."

A mustering of reason and inner strength can sometimes make our burden lighter. Idealistically we may be martyrs, proving our sincerity through honest endeavor, but practically many of us merely exist from day to day. For we are conscripted men, confined, forced to work for nothing, suspended in time, waiting.

Challenge To CPS Men

By ANTONE G. SINGSEN*

THE PRECEDING ARTICLE, "Conscription and the Mind," by Arthur Stanley Harris, is a factual and realistic statement of the pressures that play upon men in the Civilian Public Service Camps and tend to disintegrate personality. It is an indictment of conscription but also of the conscripted.

Now nobody believes more sincerely than I that conscription is morally wrong, or that if it could be abolished, a modern war would become impossible. I am vitally concerned with developing a society free from conscription and

war, free from unnecessary want and other social restraints, free from disease, free from fear. But I do not believe it can be done through individualism that develops a disgruntled sense of personal ill-treatment and results in the negative ethic of opposition to everything but the opportunity to do great works. We must not become so determined to do big things that we cannot see at our feet a worth-while opportunity to do little, obscure things.

This individual negativism presents two dangers: first, its effect on the over-all impression left in the minds of Mr. and Mrs. John Q. Public, and second, its effect on the beliefs of individuals in and close to CPS.

In most of the thinking and talking that has taken place

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concerning the adequacy or rightness of CPS as a testimony against war or conscription, we have been particularly thoughtful of our responsibility as conscientious objectors to the philosophy which causes us to reject war. The Friends and others are accused of compromising their testimony by continuing to participate in administration of CPS; our "work of national importance" is said to be of such small significance as to render it impotent as a demonstration; refusal to register, or report to CPS, or work, are declared to be the only emphatic testimony to our ideals.

With all respect for such high-minded concern over philosophical consistency or pure ethics, do we not make the mistake of forgetting what is perhaps an even more vital responsibility of CPS in the midst of a war—our responsibility to the practical future of our cause?

Pacifism Must Be Sold

Ideas grow at levels where they can be touched by people. If we are to depend on attracting enough individuals to the pacifist course to make it triumphant, we must make it available to them in words or actions they can understand and accept. Preaching ideological fantasies will never win them. We have the obligation to sell a pacifist way of life to the American people. We cannot do it by offering only the negative alternative of anti-governmentism, non-co-operation, on a philosophical level. This was amply demonstrated by the British peace pledge, and the failure of the millions who signed it on an intellectual impulse to stick with it when faced with the practical choice of participating in or rejecting war. Pacific methods of solving international or personal problems can be sold only if they are positive, practical, workable alternatives to violent methods.

We must move slowly and personally. Too many reformers reform from a distance; too many churches send missionaries to work among the Africans or Chinese and forget their own neighborhoods; too many pacifists deal in realms far from the context of the life that the baker, the steelcutter, and the bank clerk know. This is a fatal error. Ideologies accepted because they are common and popular seldom have to be examined or defended; ideas obtained through rejection of previously-held beliefs must not only be frequently explained and constantly defended, but they must be thoroughly understood by the convert. They may be visionary, but to have practical permanence they must be livable as well.

At least equal in importance to the consistency of CPS with our principles, therefore, is the question of the contribution of CPS to the future sales-promotion of our dream. We are building now the foundation of our post-war house. Whether or not people can use the structure we hope to build will depend in part on whether the steps leading up to its portals can carry the weight of the multitude.

The basis for our future approach, the only positive record on which CPS men will have a chance to stand, is being built rather thinly. In some CPS units, whose members have not allowed their work to become merely "a dreary succession of meaningless tasks," certain definite contributions to the health and welfare of the nation are being made. Specific improvement in public relations has been stimulated by units whose members have taken an

active part in the life of the communities to which they are sent. Intellectual understanding has been nurtured by some whose accomplishments have been achieved in spite of the frustrating tendency of occupational bleakness. Individual pacifists have influenced others by the slow effort of personal persuasion. Some CPS men have themselves continued to grow despite the stultifying encouragement to indolence which pervades the atmosphere of many units.

Yet, the mass picture of CPS, the totality on which the results of this type of pacifist wartime experience will eventually be judged, is a jumble of simple accomplishments offset manyfold by the dead corpses of rejected opportunities.

This fault is not in the system, or in its administration, but in ourselves. This is not to deny that both the system and administration might have been better, or that we might have been given an opportunity to perform more "significant" labor. It is simply to say that we have imitated the starving man who demanded the loaf when the slice lay before him untouched. We have amply demonstrated in the last three years that as a group we do not appear to have the strength of character to work cheerfully at small things under compulsion while, in spite of that compulsion or even because of it, "going the second mile"—the most abused phrase in pacifism today—and demonstrating personal character in work attitudes and extra-curricular activities.

The disintegration of pacifist principles of mental as well as physical non-violence, through surrender to bitterness and indolence, has weakened the foundations of pacifism we had hoped to lay in hundreds of post-war communities. We have become obsessed with the conception of injustice and have abandoned the fortress of love which presumably caused most of us to decide on CPS in the first place. Again, this is not to say that there has been no injustice; yet all the ill-treatment our comparatively mild-mannered democratic government could have devised would have been unable to frustrate our will to achievement, or to warp our personalities, had we not ourselves permitted, and indeed encouraged, it to do so.

As a group we have come to adopt something of an absolutist position in demanding only the top level of opportunity, condemning anything less as unworthy of us, and yet we are unwilling to follow the absolutist in demanding what we want with utter unconcern for personal safety. Too many of us accepted conscription to the point of registering, taking physicals, and reporting to CPS, and then declared ourselves mistreated and in opposition to the system. Instead of working half-heartedly and with complete scorn, we should have had the singleness of purpose and sincerity of conscience to withdraw from CPS (church-sponsored, at least) and take the consequences.

Pacifism Must Be Lived

Pacifism cannot be effective if it never comes down from its white pinnacle to the level of ordinary gray men. In the interests of day by day growth and eventual intellectual strength, it must start where people are and take them where we would have them go. Our insistence that as CPS men we can co-operate with nothing but the spiritual best has given our whole position, in the minds of many CPS men, as well as of the general community, an untenable thinness that robs it of the depth it could have

contained. Pacifism must be lived as a practical, touchable demonstration of faith, or it loses its roots. Too many CPS men, in their determination to oppose an unjust government, representing an unjust society, have unwittingly played into the very hands of those who are contriving to profit by conscription. We have shown ourselves to be spiritually barren in resistance to conscription, with the result that Mr. Average Citizen who may wish to rebel, but nevertheless goes along, sees nothing in our witness that demands his interest.

This is the greatest catastrophe which could have befallen CPS men in wartime. We have succumbed to defeatism, cynicism, and frustration; we have laid waste the capacities we brought to camp. If we are to be prepared to meet the anticipated challenge of the post-war popular disillusionment with war, we must prove ourselves able *now* to confute the government's attempts at our suppression and emasculation. We must show ourselves able to make great achievements out of small opportunities, to make strong souls of the weaker among us, and still stronger spirits of the greatest in our number. Instead, we have demonstrated the shallowness of our perception by allowing our spirits to fall before the subtle disparagement of restricted opportunity. Our tragic failure has been our unwillingness to find opportunity in low places.

The altercations, bitterness, and lost faith resulting from this failure have, temporarily at least, alienated hundreds of potentially active post-war pacifists. Many of those who came to CPS steeped in a background of organizational pacifism have lost their zeal. Other men, who came for personal reasons developed by individual inquiry, have been bewildered by ideological conflicts and personal antagonisms. Others, who more or less "inherited" their position, will leave CPS with shaken faith in the ability of men to make peace on earth. We have not only placed ourselves in a very poor position before the public, we have also sacrificed the affection of many of our own number.

Yet despite the shattered dreams with which we have littered the road through CPS, it is barely possible that

we may redeem our errors before the record is closed against us. To get out of the red we must re-awaken our sense of responsibility to the eventual goal we would defend—a warless way of life on earth. Our road is uphill and we must start slowly and humbly, gathering momentum gradually. Peace and opportunity are where you find them, and we in CPS have not made sufficient efforts to seek them beneath stifling regulations, barren dormitories, and insignificant work programs. Our conceptions of the ultimate have been in the way! Peace is not merely the absence of armed conflict between states; peace is a way of life. And whatever its ideological foundation, its practical expression depends on a real desire for a working and sincere friendship with all people, especially opponents.

So it is up to us to practice this way of life, to get along with those who do not make it easy for us, to create achievement out of disappointment, and to make CPS a kind of training ground for practice in solving conflict situations. Regardless of external circumstances, we can improve our lot by our own energies and thinking. War is only the culmination of conflict. We have the chance to combat conflict nearer the source, but we have so largely refused the opportunity that we are in danger of denying our highest testimony and forgetting our preliminary witness. In claiming the right to perform great services for the world we have refused to perform small ones, and at the same time have permitted our personal serenity, moral objectivity, and practical faith to disintegrate.

But if we can still sing from a full heart at 7:30 on a Monday morning, we can yet establish in CPS a record that will have substance for use in building the pacifism of the future, and perhaps the eventual peace of the world. We must demonstrate something that can be sold in all sincerity as a practical and honest method, effective, and constructive, not wrapped around with arrogance and obstructionism.

The choice is still ours to make, but there is little time left in which to choose. Only in ourselves will we find the answers to our present failure.

Four Years in Occupied Norway

By MYRTLE WRIGHT*

IT HAS BEEN A WONDERFUL EXPERIENCE to live four years in occupied Norway and to watch the active non-violent struggle against the Nazi idea and practice which the country has maintained throughout every department of its life, and this practically without any physical violence. The struggle has been based on the legal maintenance of the Norwegian constitution. All the members of the High Court of Justice resigned rather than administer laws not in accordance with the constitution, and from all other sections of the community similar protests were made whenever the Nazis attempted to interfere. You have heard about the resistance of the teachers and the consequent deportation of 1,100 of them to the north of the country.

* Myrtle Wright left England in January, 1940, and went to Denmark as Friends Service Council representative to the Quaker Center there. On a visit to Norway the next April she was caught by the German invasion. She has just returned to England. This article was reprinted from *The Friend*, London Quaker Weekly.

In public vehicles no one will sit next to a German. Anything in which there is Nazi control—from public sports displays to concerts which are being broadcast by the official radio—is boycotted and no one goes to see the German films. The National Theatre at Oslo sometimes plays to houses of 25 persons, and I heard that at Trondheim the theater is shut if there is an audience of less than ten! When children were ordered to attend an exhibition of Nazi pictures, the schools vied with one another as to how quickly the scholars could get past the exhibits. The children while in the exhibition kept their eyes straight ahead, and the winning school got through in three minutes!

One of the big demonstrations was the action of the parents in 1942 against the official attempt to bring all the children into a Nazi youth movement. The sending of letters of protest by parents was so organized that all communications reached Oslo on the same day. The depart-

ment was snowed under with hundreds of thousands of letters and 19 special sorters had to be employed. The regulation was never enforced.

These are just some of the examples of the way in which the Norwegians—except the 2 per cent who follow Quisling—are determined not to consent to the Nazification of their lives and minds. The church, too, has made a magnificent stand and has won the admiration of many who otherwise have no use for her. Yet this means that there is also the danger of the Church becoming a means of political demonstration. The churches are packed, but many persons have gone to demonstrate national unity, and not always to worship.

The spiritual experience of Norway, however, is to be found outside the somewhat narrow and dogmatic, organized church. It is to be found in the realization of the people that there are values of freedom, decency, humanity, for which it is worth risking everything, even life itself. It is a voluntary sacrifice, for they could so easily have continued to live quietly, keeping just on the right side of the regulations; instead they have chosen the way of suffering.

I hate to have to say it, but I believe that little of what has been written about the wholesale brutality of German treatment has been over-statement. We must understand what some Germans can do to other people; and we have got to see also how this is destroying the German people themselves morally at the same time.

If there is to be eventually reconciliation and redemption in and with Central Europe, we have got to face and un-

derstand the facts of the situation; we can't go round them, but we must go through them. We cannot put aside the picture of physical terror, of a torture so brutal that it permits nothing to be held back.

We must recognize evil where there is evil.

At the same time I am convinced there is a Christian way which we must continually seek. But I know that while we must not be sentimental, our reply as Christians must include no element of retaliation or revenge. It may seem almost a cliché, but it is not those who suffer most who hate most. I have found as regards myself that the most terrible thing is the lack of confidence in Germans which all this creates.

But in addition to the attitude of resistance I should add that wherever Norwegians are together, there is always much discussion not only of the best way to resist the threats of Nazi control but also of the future—the treatment of Germany, our personal and international relationships, and the rebuilding of Norway, its social, educational, and spiritual life as well as the material and economic. It is in this personal contact that it has been possible to put the positive and creative pacifist viewpoint—the Christian viewpoint, even if the term Christian is not often mentioned.

The struggle is not finished—it goes on more intensely today, and will do so in the future, in an effort to build up positive Christian values in the post-war world. The place of Norway in that future will be great, for here is a people who have known a spiritual power that cannot be defeated by all the might of military strength.

We Say No To Jim Crow

By GEORGE M. HOUSER*

YOU CAN SIT HERE TILL MIDNIGHT but you won't be served, the manager of a restaurant in Chicago firmly told a group of Negro and white friends as they waited for service late one Saturday afternoon. And yet, less than an hour later, not only was this interracial group of twenty-one served, but the manager herself served them.

The persons who successfully awaited service in this restaurant were members of an interracial group known as the Committee of Racial Equality, or more briefly, CORE. They had come to this particular restaurant knowing that it refused to serve Negroes, but bent upon seeing whether this policy might not be changed through non-violent direct action methods. The plan of direct action which they had decided to use on this occasion had not been conceived on the spur of the moment. It had grown out of the experience of several months' discriminatory treatment in this one restaurant.

Members of CORE had discovered quite by accident that the restaurant had a policy of not serving Negroes when two of them (one colored and one white) had stopped for a meal on one occasion. They were at first refused service, but after some wait they were given dis-

courteous service. At another time when a small group of Negroes and whites went to the restaurant, the money they had paid for their food was thrown out on the street as they left. Once some of the dishes from which Negroes in the group had eaten were smashed by the manager. At other times, no service at all was given.

Representatives of the group had worked carefully to try to change the mind of the manager of the restaurant. Reconciliatory letters were written trying to explain the point of view of the group on the race question. Over the phone, and in person, some of the group had tried to discuss the matter with the manager. But their efforts were to no avail. The manager was adamant, and persisted in the policy that "no colored people will be served here unless they go to the basement." Finally CORE instituted its simple plan of direct action.

The restaurant has seats for about forty persons. Thirteen of the seats are at the counter where the quickest turnover takes place. The twenty-one CORE members and friends who took part in the project knew that they, along with the other patrons who ate there, would fill all the seats at the counter and in the booths. They expected that the white members in the group would be served without question, at least until it became obvious that the colored

* FOR Action Projects Secretary, in Cleveland, Ohio, and formerly Secretary of the Chicago FOR.

and white persons were together. But the decision had been reached that all participants would refuse to eat until all had been served.

Events occurred as had been anticipated. The white persons were served without question. The colored persons were told that they could either go to the basement or they would not be served. The Caucasians politely but firmly refused to eat until service was given to all. Regular patrons who had come in were crowding the standing space wondering why they were compelled to wait so long for their customary seats. The police were called to "quell a disorderly group." When they arrived they found Negroes and their white friends seated quietly in the restaurant waiting for service. They told the manager: "There's nothing we can do about this. There's no disturbance here."

What could the manager do? She seemed very upset and frustrated. She realized that not only were the police powerless to protect an out-moded Jim Crow policy, but also that there were people of her own race, some of her regular patrons included, who were opposed to her discriminatory treatment of Negroes. Indeed, some of the other white persons in the restaurant who knew nothing of CORE, joined the sit-downers when they learned what was taking place. So in less than an hour after declaring, "You can sit here till midnight but you won't be served," the manager of that restaurant gave excellent service to the interracial group. On numerous occasions since this event CORE members have visited this restaurant, and have found that discrimination has entirely ceased.

Emphasis on Action

This occurrence, which illustrates in part how CORE works, has been duplicated many times. CORE is primarily an action group. Its statement of purpose begins: "CORE has one purpose—to eliminate racial discrimination" and continues: "CORE has one method—interracial, non-violent direct action."

The puzzling thing about the race problem is how to meet it. Anyone can quote statistics on poor housing for Negroes or on discrimination in employment or in public places, and everyone does. But nothing very much seems to happen! The question always is: "What can we do about this situation?" CORE came into existence to demonstrate an answer that has not been sufficiently tried. Those who founded CORE held the conviction that discrimination, no matter where it is found, must be challenged directly, without violence or hatred, yet without compromise. The idea has had more than two years of experimentation behind it now.

It was during the early months of 1942 that a handful of Negro and white friends conceived the idea of an organized interracial group acting on this basis. They had heard about instances where Jim Crowism had been opposed spontaneously by direct action through non-co-operation. They had taken a trip to Detroit during the Sojourner-Truth housing difficulty there, and had seen what tragic results arise from American race prejudice, especially when Negroes are not organized to oppose this prejudice. They were convinced that not just another "education" or "fellowship" group was needed, but resolute and intelligently organized action. The real beginning of CORE came with

an action project aimed to challenge discrimination in a Chicago roller skating rink. Twenty-four persons co-operated on this project, and a high spirit of group solidarity was achieved. This one project did not break discrimination in the rink; it was not expected that it would. It definitely established the fact, however, that the reason Negroes were refused skating privileges had nothing to do with their failure to hold membership in a fictitious Roller Rink Club. None of the white members in the interracial group of twenty-four was asked if he belonged to the Club—only the Negroes. Thus it was proven that the Club was the creation of the rink management to safeguard itself from the Illinois State Civil Rights Law and keep Negroes out. CORE did not follow through on this project, but turned the evidence over to the lawyers of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People for legal action. But the group enthusiasm and direct action experience which was gained from this one test case led CORE to plan other projects.

Another Restaurant Case

Many of CORE's experiences have been in restaurants. None of the members of the group believe that the race problem is going to be solved merely by opening up restaurants to Negro patronage, but there is strong conviction that discrimination must be challenged wherever it is met. It has been met numerous times in restaurants. The most difficult case of this kind which CORE has encountered was in one of the well-known eating places in downtown Chicago. When CORE members learned that this restaurant did not serve colored people and that many Negroes had been badly embarrassed by the treatment they had received there, it was decided that a small interracial group should test the policy. This group of three persons was refused service. On other occasions when Negroes or interracial groups had gone to the restaurant they were either refused service or given inedible food—food deliberately spoiled by heavy salting or by putting broken egg shells in it. Some were even served "garbage sandwiches" consisting of cores of tomatoes and spoiled leaves of lettuce. Constant attempts were made to discuss the problem in a friendly fashion with the owner of the restaurant. This did not clear up the discriminatory policy. The owner claimed that he would lose much of his trade if he served colored people, and that other restaurants in the same class as his followed a similar policy.

In order to refute the claim of this restaurant owner that other such establishments followed a policy of discrimination, CORE did a magnificent research job on all the downtown eating places in Chicago. Every one of the restaurants in the Loop was visited either by one or two colored persons or by an interracial group. As a result of this investigation a little leaflet was published called "Fifty Loop Restaurants Which Do Not Discriminate." It has received wide distribution. The restaurant here mentioned was the only one that had a clear policy of discrimination. What was CORE to do about it? The first thing was to pass out leaflets to persons as they entered the restaurant, informing them of the policy of the place, and asking them to speak to the owner, urging him to change his policy. This went on for a week, and although new friends were won by this campaign, the policy was still not changed.

Finally it was decided that another "sit down" should be attempted, similar to the one held in the small restaurant previously. More than fifty persons participated in the project. It had an ending which could not have been foreseen. Many of the white persons co-operating in the project were already seated in the restaurant before the interracial groups entered. The first of the two interracial groups stood conspicuously at the front of the restaurant near the door for half an hour waiting to be seated. Finally the persons in this group were seated—at the rear near the kitchen—but when the second interracial group entered, they were left standing, on orders of the owner, for nearly an hour and a half. The police were called three times, but refused to take action when they saw there was no disturbance. The hundred or more white people in the restaurant who were not connected with the project could not help but have their attention called to the interracial group waiting patiently to be seated. Many of these people were outspoken in their sympathy with the Negroes. Negro bus girls working in the restaurant were conscious of nothing but the issue of whether the interracial group would be seated. They told CORE members that they would quit if service were denied members of their race. Some of the white employees, struck with admiration for the patience and calm of the interracial group, indicated their sympathy. The atmosphere was hardly one of antipathy to the presence of the Negroes.

The first Negro to be seated was a girl who was asked by a white patron, not connected with CORE, to share her table. Then other white patrons asked waiting members of the group to join them. The last two Negroes were seated by a hostess. At this point the creativity of this type of action was given its full acclaim. Without previous plan, a spontaneous and extended applause broke out in which nearly everyone in the restaurant participated. This was a fitting climax to a victory for real democracy. No further discrimination has been reported.

Residential Discrimination

Ever since it came into existence CORE has been tackling the problem of residential and housing discrimination. Chicago landlords and real estate agencies perpetuate poor housing conditions for Negroes through restrictive covenants, by which homes and apartments inside of a definitely circumscribed "white" area cannot be rented or sold to Negroes. These covenants cover at least eighty percent of the city area, and make intolerable conditions for an ever-increasing Negro population. CORE, knowing these facts, determined to challenge the right of covenants to exist. An interracial men's co-operative living house was established in a "restricted" area. As soon as the real estate company that had rented this house to the group, learned that Negroes were living there they threatened legal proceedings if the men did not move out. Of course the group did not submit voluntarily to eviction, since one of the purposes of the interracial house was to challenge the legality of the covenants. Instead, a committee of the men called on the real estate company, informing those in charge that the interracial members of the co-operative house believed covenants to be both undemocratic and unchristian, and that therefore they would have to refuse to co-operate with them.

The real estate company began court proceedings. But before the case came up in court, the men in the house visited their neighbors, telling them the nature of the case which was being made against them, and asking for their support. Although the neighbors were not, for the most part, enthusiastic about the interracial nature of the co-operative, they were equally unenthusiastic about the case of the real estate company. Furthermore, the men had always been very considerate of their neighbors and were successful in arousing much more good will than ill among them. Consequently, when the real estate agency urged the neighbors to be witnesses for the prosecution, they were surprised that none of them volunteered to go to court. Four times the case was scheduled for court, and four times the prosecution failed to have witnesses. The case was won by the interracial group by default. The covenant had been broken with impunity. The interracial co-operative is still flourishing in a supposed "lily white" section of Chicago's south side.

Many more instances of the success of CORE's non-violent direct action approach could be given, but those outlined here are enough to show how it works in actual practice. Two elements in this method make it unique. First of all, non-violent direct action is based upon the conviction that the way to challenge injustice is to refuse to co-operate with it. Thus the power of non-co-operation is the sword of CORE's method.

If non-co-operation is the sword of non-violent direct action, an attitude of good will and a willingness to accept physical punishment if necessary are its spirit. CORE has not been faced with real violence as yet in any of its cases. It has been a simple matter, therefore, to keep to a minimum group antagonism against one who practices a Jim Crow policy. However, the group realizes that when they oppose prejudice they are courting violence, antagonism, and ill will. People don't like to have their opinions disputed. The lady manager in the first restaurant case did not have a smile on her face when she served the group. If a significant number of people in the restaurant had agreed with her, violence could have taken place.

Members of CORE do not like to cause antagonism or any outbreak of violence, but they believe that action *must* be taken against Jim Crow, for the only alternative is to submit to injustice. At the same time they resolve that if violence does break out in any case in which they are involved, they shall not be a party to it. They believe that a creative response comes when a group or a person accepts physical punishment without retaliating in kind. The spirit of good will is carried to its ultimate in this kind of action.

The aim of the non-violent procedure is not only to change the policy of a public institution, but also to change attitudes. This is not accomplished in a moment. One of the factors that allows prejudiced attitudes to remain unchanged is that we are living in a time when the races are to a great extent segregated. Allowing segregation to continue is allowing unchanged attitudes to continue. But in trying to change discriminatory policies and the pattern of segregation found in present-day society, it is important to do everything possible to maintain a friendly spirit. CORE believes that over a period of time, if not immediately, this will insure a change in attitude and practice.

News from the Peace Front

Liberated Areas Starve as Allies Press Destruction of Germany

The enormous task of reconstruction in Europe has been multiplied by the failure of the United Nations to feed the starving civilians during the war, both before and since "liberation" from the Nazis.

Early in March newspapers reported widespread famine in Holland, with hundreds dying daily in the cities or on country roads in search of food; and the death-rate in France was 37 per cent above normal, with food, fuel, and clothing practically unobtainable in many areas.

Vera Brittain, in a February letter, quotes a French diplomatic correspondent as saying that "France is today nearer to starvation level than at any moment during the whole war." She went on to say that the main problem is one of distribution, and that the "train-busting" exploits of France's liberators have reduced her locomotives from 19,000 to 6,000.

In almost every liberated area conditions are now worse than they were under Nazi occupation, and little is being done to relieve the suffering and starvation. On the contrary, the Allies seem determined to concentrate on the destruction of Germany even though the policy results also in the destruction of the rest of Europe. Vera Brittain quotes the London *Sunday Express* of Feb. 4 as saying, "Into the heart of Berlin, jammed with 3,000,000 hungry and panic-stricken refugees from Germany's eastern provinces, American bombers yesterday rained 2,500 tons of high explosive and incendiary bombs." Miss Brittain comments: "The Potsdamer and Anhalter railway stations, where thousands of refugees were known to be stranded on their journey westward, were deliberately included amongst the targets. The *Evening Standard* next day carried the news that 20,000 refugees were estimated to have been killed."

If the United Nations continue their present policy much longer, they will have no friends on either side after the war.

Doubts Conscription Polls

Columnist Paul Mallon in his national syndicated column, "The News Behind the News," on March 5 declared: "The straw polls are Gallup-

ing over the country, heralding or drumming up what is called 'an overwhelming majority support' for compulsory military education. I doubt them. I do not think that proposition has any great support, let alone majority following. . . ."

Mallon then expressed his belief that the proposed conscription legislation will never get through Congress. However, the battle is not yet won, it is only postponed. Backers of peacetime conscription are working harder than ever, and they do not intend to give up, even though their measures are not adopted by the present Congress. Evidence of this is the recently organized permanent national organization formed and incorporated to promote universal military service in peacetime, The Citizens Committee for Military Training of Young Men, Inc. Julius Ochs Adler, of *The New York Times*, is among the prominent incorporators. A committee of women has also been organized for the same purpose.

Hearings in Congress may not be held until after the results of the San Francisco Conference are brought up for consideration, which may be mid-summer, but then there may be an attempt to rush a conscription law through under pretense of necessity for maintaining the world organization and protecting the post-war world against aggressors.

Opponents of peacetime conscription report that many persons who nominally favor conscription quickly change their minds when they are given the facts and have opportunity to discuss them with others. Thus there is hope for ultimate defeat of this militarist movement if voters can be reached with the facts and persuaded to write their Congressmen.

FOR Aids Refugees

Back in July, 1942, the FOR War Victims Fund issued an appeal for money to educate and support 25 young refugees of war who had been rescued from concentration camps by the French FOR and were then at L'Ecole Nouvelle Cevenole at Le Chambon in Unoccupied France.

We sent them assistance until the day when Germany's occupation was extended to the whole of France and the

Send a Parcel

It is possible once more to send by mail small parcels of food, soap, and other items to people in Italy, Belgium, and France. Postal regulations limit the packages to four and one-half pounds. The cost of contents and postage averages only \$4.00; but such person-to-person gifts, as we know by correspondence, are extremely precious to European FOR members and others, as symbols of fellowship, hope, and life.

If you wish to send parcels, write to George Paine, 6 Park Street, Boston, Mass. He will send you the name of some person in a liberated country, together with instructions on how to proceed.

U. S. government forbade any further sending of funds. Then the Swiss FOR and other groups took up where we left off, and Siegmund-Schultze managed to get aid for our children and the school.

But the Nazi program of deporting Jews to Poland—even children—reached into Le Chambon. André Trocmé, local pastor, and Eduard Theis, the schoolmaster, were instrumental in managing escape into Switzerland for about a hundred children. Trocmé and Theis, being suspected by the Nazis, were arrested and held for five weeks in 1943; and after their release they were hunted by the Gestapo and had to go into hiding for ten months. They returned last June and found the school had gone right on. A letter from Trocmé, dated last February, says:

"We are making great plans for the future. The small 'Ecole Cevenole' of 1938, with its 17 pupils, has grown up to a 'College Cevenole' with 300 boys and girls. It would be too long to tell you in a letter how this was possible in five long and difficult years. The hostility of Protestant circles in 1938, due to our attitude toward war, has completely changed during the time of occupation, as Le Chambon has been from the beginning a center of resistance to totalitarianism. Now our plan is to make of Le Chambon an educational center for the future generations of European youth. During the war we always had ten or twelve nationalities represented in our school. We want this to continue after the war, with summer conferences held in the school buildings."

Germfask COs Say Time Missed Real Story

Time magazine (Feb. 19, 1945) carried an article about the government-operated CPS camp at Germfask, Michigan, and implied or expressly stated that the men there are trouble-makers who frequently go AWOL, that they loaf on the job, drink, make love to local girls, and destroy camp food supplies "as an outlet for their frustration."

A group of four men now in Germfask have replied that *Time's* charges are highly exaggerated and in some instances completely false. They assert also that the incidents which have occurred are important not so much for themselves as for the fact that they are symptoms of a serious situation. For instance, the government squanders 76 men on a job that does not require more than 25.

These four men conclude their statement by saying: "There is a real news story at Germfask—and in the Civilian Public Service System as well. It is the story of the government's first experiment with unpaid forced labor and the growing opposition within the camps to this program."

On top of it all, we have just received word that Paul G. Voelker, manager of the Germfask camp, resigned his position on March 17. In his letter of resignation he said: "This action is taken only after thoroughly familiarizing myself with the situation. I have found the Selective Service treatment of men in CPS camp to be the re-establishment of slavery in our nation and the punishment of men whose conscience does not permit their participation in war. As a liberty-loving American citizen and ex-serviceman, I cannot take part in the administering of a system of unpaid, forced labor."

Mr. Voelker resigned only two weeks after accepting the position.

Guatemala Constitution

The non-violent revolution of the summer of 1944 in Guatemala, which FELLOWSHIP readers will remember reading about in Devere Allen's article in the September issue, came to fruition recently in a democratic Constitution drafted by the Guatemala Constitutional Congress in a session lasting two months. This is the most liberal constitution in Guatemala's history, providing for a semi-parliamentary government, and establishing freedom of the press, speech and assembly, woman suffrage, and protection for workers.

FOR National Council Meets in May

The Annual Meeting of the National Council of the FOR will be held May 29-31, in or near New York. Below is a list of members recently elected to the National Council to serve for the two-year period January 1, 1945 to January 1, 1947. An approximately equal number of members are held over until the completion of their two-year terms next January.

John Maxwell Adams
Charlotte Bentley*
Charles F. Boss, Jr.
Charles Butcher, 2d
Margaret S. Campbell
Robert Case
Bernard C. Clausen
Joseph W. Conard
Henry Hitt Crane
John Dillingham
J. Passmore Elkinton*
William J. Faulkner
Sue Flanagan*
Owen M. Geer
Richard B. Gregg
John Haynes Holmes*
Jessie Wallace Hughan
Joseph Boone Hunter
Howard Kester
Roy McCorkel
Morris R. Mitchell
Walter Mitchell
Enrico C. S. Molnar
Vernon Nash
Mrs. Henry Hill Pierce*
E. McNeill Poteat
Sheldon Rahn*
Ross W. Sanderson, Jr.
Howard E. Spragg
Ralph A. Templin*
Herman Will

* Member of Executive Committee

Jottings

Donovan Smucker, former FOR secretary now pastor of a church in Wadsworth, Ohio, broadcasts at 9 o'clock every Sunday morning on Station WAKR, Akron.

* * *

"The most feverishly patriotic planners of *defense* through universal compulsory military service are not in Congress" nor on the fighting fronts, but rather occupy offices in Washington and wear spotless uniforms of Army and Navy officers, according to Roscoe S. Conkling, until recently a Lieutenant Colonel and member of Selective Service's Presidential Appeal Board. In a pamphlet, "The Case Against Peacetime Compulsory Military Training," just published by the Post War World Council, Conkling warns the nation against the efforts of military officials to frighten the nation into accepting peacetime conscription and thus protect themselves against demotions and salary reductions that would surely come with peacetime shrinking of the military machine. Conkling tried to voice his views while on active duty and was refused permission by his superiors; so, at his own request, he returned to inactive status in order to be free to speak his mind as a private citizen. His pamphlet is a devastating attack on official propaganda. It may be secured from the FOR for 10 cents.

* * *

The American Youth Hostels School in Meredith, New Hampshire, of which Don Irish is Director, has openings for several mature, versatile, democratic young people as counselors. Write for information.

These Books Should Be in Your Home

Reflections of a Pastor in Occupied France.....	\$.25
Henri Roser's thoughts during the German occupation of France.	
Christ and Our Enemies.....	.15
Stephen Hobhouse's message with introduction by Archbishop Temple.	
Towards a Christian Peace.....	.25
Economic and political approaches by W. H. Marwick and Carl Heath.	
A Mechanistic or a Human Society?.....	.25
Wilfred Wellock's plea for organizing society on a human basis.	
New Testament Basis of Pacifism.....	.50
Macgregor's unmatched interpretation of the teachings of Jesus.	
Non-violence in an Aggressive World.....	.75
A. J. Muste's well known work reprinted from the original plates.	
The Power of Non-violence.....	1.50
Richard B. Gregg's classic in a revised edition; 3 new chapters.	
The Fall of Christianity.....	1.50
Heering's scholarly study of Christianity, the state, and war.	
Fellowship of Reconciliation, 2929 Broadway, New York 25, N. Y.	

The Peacemaker's Bookshelf

God in Our World

The Will of God for These Days, by Kirby Page. Farrar and Rinehart, \$1.00.

Into this nineteenth book in 25 years Kirby Page has distilled his basic convictions about the meaning of Christianity as a way of life in the world of today. Unlike his recent books of quotations from many authors, almost every word of this book is by Mr. Page. I hasten to add it is not autobiographical or of the reminiscent story telling type. Perhaps in another decade or two Mr. Page will give us the story of his crusading career—it will be worth telling—but the present volume sticks closely to a reasoned exposition of the general problem of focusing on our conflict-sundered society Christ-dedicated individuals through whom God's will can flow.

Mr. Page writes in the tradition of Walter Rauschenbusch and, to those of us who began our preaching under that great man's influence before the First World War, it is encouraging to find that the things he helped us to see in Jesus and a society which scorned the idea of social crisis, were indubitably true.

"Forty years ago," says Mr. Page, "only a few seers discerned the true nature of individualism, nationalism, militarism, and imperialism as dynamic elements in precipitating war. The need for comprehensive agencies of international government was scarcely recognized. . . . In this Second World War, millions of men are fighting the war as unavoidable necessity, regarding it as a painful duty, but rare indeed is the soldier who proclaims it to be a holy crusade for God. Bombing of cities and blockading of populations are recognized as ghastly evils. The younger members of this generation will probably live long enough to see the day when the Christian Church will recognize that participation in war by Christians is wrong and sinful, as it now recognizes as wrong and sinful the practice of buying and selling human beings as chattel slaves."

There is nothing particularly new or startling in this book; its ideas will be familiar to the FOR members who know Kirby Page's previous writings or the general lines of Christian pacifist social thinking. However a new generation of pacifists is coming on the scene, and possibly a great many post-war converts, for whom the earlier pacifist books and pamphlets are out of print or out of date. Especially for those who have been reared in the

traditions of Protestant Christianity, this handbook will be of fundamental worth. It comprehensively condenses and describes the core of faith for Christian living in an immoral society shot through with the denials and sophistries of contemporary Mammonism. It charts a way for the neophyte who would follow the will of God in economics, in political action, in race relations and in international affairs.

The book is timed right for meeting the probable discouragement of the coming peace. Its consistent faith in the sure victory of God and God's righteousness over the years makes direct contact with persons who feel themselves caught in the mechanisms of war, the state and mammoth industrialization.

Without in the least glossing over or minimizing the catastrophe of today and the problems of tomorrow, Mr. Page holds that "hope is to be found in the same reality from which doom emerges: the moral order of the universe and the dependable processes of the harvest. Good seed continues to bring forth a good crop. Whereas the harvest of evil is cumulatively suicidal, the yield of righteousness is progressively creative and redemptive."

"The social conscience," he says, "has never before been so sensitive concerning the iniquities of involuntary poverty in the midst of plenty, racial discrimination and war. The gospel of Jesus, as related to the abolition of these evils, is more clearly understood and is more faithfully followed by a more substantial minority than in any previous generation."

These convictions of Mr. Page, as well as the main content of his book, take on weight as coming to us from one of the foremost and most indefatigable and widely read social crusaders of our time. There is an authentic ring of truth that comes from a man whose spirit, we feel, has made contact with living reality.

JNS.

Curse of Realism

Common Sense, 10 East 49th Street, New York 17, N. Y. Subscription \$2.50 per year, single copies 25 cents.

On the crucial issues of Dumbarton Oaks-Crimea-San Francisco, the March issue of *Common Sense* magazine contains invaluable material. The leading editorial, "The Curse of Realism," strikes a note of idealism as well as realism, which one wishes might be found more often these days in religious publications. "Perhaps the cen-

tral intellectual tragedy of our times," says the writer, "is that our standard for judging events has become debased." The partition of Europe is being lauded as a "statesmanlike compromise." But alas, millions of Europeans had looked to us "as an escape from the bitter necessity of deciding whether it would be worse to give themselves over to Stalin or Churchill. They hoped we would release and support constructive, progressive democratic forces in Europe. We have kicked these millions of desperate men and women in the face . . . This is the most real reality of Crimea."

Milton Mayer contributes a brilliantly written column to explain why he is "frigid," as his friends charge, toward "the great new world organization which is now in the making in Moscow, Lublin, Crimea and Moscow." Mayer insists that he is only "tepid" but "What I want to know," he says, "is whether the great new organization . . . is going to be good for my suffering brethren whom Christ and so many millions of lesser men have died, and are still dying, to save." He thinks it is not and concludes: "If you cannot find among the organizers of the great new world organization the principle, commonly and fanatically held, of improving the human lot, I suggest that you save your money."

Perhaps the most timely and useful article is a factual and thoroughly documented study by Bertram D. Wolfe on "Poland—Acid Test of a People's Peace." Though President Roosevelt in his March 1 speech to Congress made the astounding assertion that at Teheran "no political arrangements were made and none was attempted . . ." Wolfe quotes December dispatches of Anne O'Hare McCormick and Raymond Daniell in the *New York Times* and *London Observer* comment to the effect that former Polish Premier Mikolajczyk was told by Stalin and Churchill in Moscow that the disposition of Poland was settled at Teheran. There is fascinating and detailed proof that the now so widely hailed Curzon Line is actually the Molotov-Ribbentrop 1939 line and before that was substantially the line arrived at when Catherine of Russia divided the spoils of Poland with Frederick of Prussia.

There is important material on the alleged massacre of Polish officers by Russia in the Katyn Forest and Russia's refusal to allow an investigation by the International Red Cross. The travesty of supposing that a free plebiscite, or election, can take place in Poland is exposed, and other crucial questions discussed.

CPS a Gain

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

Being a "graduate" of CPS, I beg to present a few ideas on the camps. I was inducted into Camp Dalton in San Dimas, California, in November, 1942, transferred to Walhalla, Michigan, and given a medical discharge in June, 1943. Thus I spent roughly seven months in the two camps.

Previous to entering CPS, I was active as an organizer, speaker, and worker in political, social, religious, and peace groups, for approximately ten years.

Now I know the limitations of these camps. The men are isolated. Many feel that the work they are doing is not of "social significance," and for a lot this is probably true. Secondly, there is no compensation. They or their families or the various religious bodies have to contribute to their support. If they are married, this creates a further hardship. These then are the principal gripes of the assignee.

There is no doubt that CPS is conscription. There are but three alternatives in this war setup: military service, prison, or CPS. There is no complete exemption or partial exemption for work of national importance, unless one is paroled to it from prison or assigned to it from CPS.

However, looking both forward and backward, I feel that the churches and COs have gained a victory. A CO objects to killing his fellow man. Congress could have forced him into the Army and refused him any exemptions or rights. If he refused to fight, they could have court-martialed him. This could have meant two things: from twenty years to life sentences in any prison, or a firing squad. This would have been the uncompromising, hard boiled, patriotic attitude—an attitude, by the way, which even now certain very strong pressure groups are trying to foster.

But concessions were made—real concessions as far as the militaristic and patriotic groups were concerned. Were not we attacked by the Japanese? Was and is not this nation fighting for her very life? American boys and women are laying down their lives that democracy may still exist. They are sleeping in mud, going without meals for days, and without sleep, living and fighting under the most inhuman conditions, fighting and dying, giving all for their country.

Conscientious objectors were given the privilege of going to camps set up by the churches and administered by civilian directors—and doing work which many government agencies feel is of vital national importance. They sleep in clean barracks, work only eight hours a day, usually eat pretty well, have whatever recreation and study they wish after work, and get fairly good medical attention. This was indeed a concession. Outside of the camps and on a voluntary basis the men may go into some kind of detached service: farm work, state mental hospitals or correctional schools and institutions, U. S. Coast and Geodetic Survey crews, and so on. So things are not so bad.

Yes, it must be agreed that this is a compromise, but in civilian life, paying taxes is also a compromise; that is, taxes which contribute directly to the war effort. One must compromise in nearly everything one does, in order to live in society. And

A PAGE OF COMMENT BY READERS

Readers are invited to contribute to this page. Please keep letters brief since space is severely limited.

when concessions are gained so that a man may be a witness for a better order, where a man may pursue peaceful and constructive work such as reforestation and fire fighting, irrigation projects and many others, with the approbation of the citizens of a nation gone mad with war, then I say that with all its imperfections CPS should be retained. At least until something more worth while is brought into being.

I know that for school teachers, chemists, clerks, writers—yes, even farmers—CPS life is monotonous, and that continued monotony is one of the greatest hazards to mental stability; that the camps are not ideal places to bear out an existence day after day, week after week, month after month, and year after year (invisible bars). However, don't forget that the men in jail have to face the same conditions and much more intensified. Their letters are limited. No newspapers, books, nor weekend leaves. Army discipline is

much stricter than that of the camps and aside from this there is no alternative. In neither place does one have a chance or an opportunity to carry on the kind of pacifist witness for Christian ideals that the CPS man does.

Let's take advantage of the opportunity which has been provided. These concessions did not come without a fight. Let's provide future pacifists with a stepping stone that may be used to build a better world.

IRA L. BALDERSTONE.

Should FEPC Be Enforced?

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

The question of putting teeth into FEPC, the New York Anti-Bias Bill, Mr. Byrnes' midnight closing directives, anti-poll tax legislation and similar measures is one that calls for clarification from the viewpoint of pacifism. I should like to know how the Editors and other Fellowship members think on these matters. Personally, I feel that, for several reasons, the danger of violence from the passage of this sort of legislation is not very serious.

MARY S. McDOWELL.

The Crisis on Conscription Is Coming!

Conscription legislation for peacetime military training is still a serious threat to peace. Anti-conscription education must be increased if it is to be effective. Will you help?

Among the newer literature items available are:

Conscription After the War?.....	\$.25
Freeman's new 64-page Forerunner Studybook. Readable, provocative.	
Military Training and National Health	Dozen .25
Reprints of Swomley's article in February FELLOWSHIP. \$1.50 per 100.	
Sourcebook on Peacetime Conscription.....	.25
An extremely useful pocket encyclopedia. Here are all the facts.	
Conscription for Peacetime?.....	.10
Hanson Baldwin's authoritative article reprinted from March HARPER'S.	
Pros and Cons of Peacetime Conscription.....	.05
One of the National Peace Conference pamphlets on World Government.	
Constitutionality of Peacetime Conscription.....	.25
Reprint of Harrop Freeman's article in January VIRGINIA LAW REVIEW.	
Illustrated Arguments for Peacetime Conscription.....	.05
Arguments for conscription refuted in eight cartoons with captions.	

Send for our free list of all anti-conscription materials
CASH WITH ORDER SPEEDS SERVICE AND CUTS COSTS

Fellowship of Reconciliation, 2929 Broadway, New York 25, N. Y.

FOR Field Secretaries

South: Constance Rumbough, 1804 Grand Avenue, Nashville 4, Tenn.; Midwest: Emerson Schwenk, 740 Rust Street, Chicago 11, Ill.; Northwest: Mary Farquharson, 4033 University Way, Seattle, Wash.; Northern California: Caleb Foote, 2151 Vine Street, Berkeley 7, Cal.; Southwest: Louise Rounds, 1161 W. Olympic Blvd., Los Angeles 27, Cal.; Rocky Mountain: Margaret Rohrer, 1418 Grape Street, Denver, Colo.; Rural: Warren Nelson, Prairie du Sac, Wis.; Action Projects: George Houser, 7100 Kinsman Rd., Cleveland, Ohio.

INFORMATION WANTED

— concerning the whereabouts and activities of every FOR member!

THE FELLOWSHIP IS GROWING. Its program is expanding, and we believe that this increased activity has the approval of our membership. But with expansion in numbers comes the need of extending to every member the sense of personal fellowship with the other members. The attempt to do this in a united way has been started in Chicago, Cleveland, Pittsburgh, Columbus, Cincinnati, Indianapolis, Dayton, Rochester, Buffalo, Syracuse, and other cities. They plan to make house-to-house calls on all listed members both national and local and to invite the greater participation of all in the life of the Fellowship and its many important projects.

One thing this experiment has revealed is that our local FOR groups have on their rolls as members a considerable number of people who are unknown to the national office or are listed there as "inactive." On the other hand, there are members on the national roll who are not active or in contact with local groups. The systematic visitation will do much to correct such discrepancies and to tie all our people in closely with our local, regional, and national work.

Our Sixfold Task

1. Personal witness to pacifism in everyday living—in personal, social, economic, and civic relationships.
2. Campaign against peacetime conscription.
3. Forerunners education among high school age youth.
4. Interracial fellowship with the minority groups in our democracy.
5. Action projects in industrial and racial fields of tension.
6. International program of the Fellowship.

— and Your Share In It

1. What share do YOU want to have personally in this great work?
2. What suggestions will YOU make for the improvement of our program?
3. What share do YOU want to assume in the budget for \$134,000 now being sought to make possible this national and international program?
4. What additional contribution do YOU want to make for the local work of the FOR in your own community?

Here Is What Your Local FOR Can Do:

1. Send a list of all their local members to the national office to be checked there.
2. Select a small, vigorous, calling committee to visit every member in their local Fellowship by May 31 so as to secure the more active participation of all.
3. Invite persons on their local lists who believe in the principles of the FOR but have not joined the national FOR to become members.
4. Invite every member to increase his national contribution by at least 58 per cent—the amount of increase in the 1945 national budget.
5. Secure such additional contributions as are needed for the local FOR.
6. Report the results of these efforts frequently to H. F. Hancox, Associate Secretary for Membership and Finance, Fellowship of Reconciliation, 2929 Broadway, New York 25, New York.